

Message Text

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USMISSION BERLIN UNN

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 18959

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR,UR, XH, WTO

SUBJECT: SOVIET EAST EUROPE MONTH: WINDING DOWN

REF: A) MOSCOW 18885, B) MOSCOW 18734, C) MOSCOW 18071,

D) MOSCOW 17665, E) MOSCOW 17577

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. ZHIKOV'S LIGHTNING VISIT DECEMBER 2
TO PRESENT BREZHNEV A SECOND SET OF THE SAME MEDALS SUGGESTS
KADAR AND HONECKER MUST COME ON SIMILAR MISSION, SO "EAST
EUROPE" MONTH IS PROBABLY NOT YET OVER. SOVIETS HAVE
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ALSO BEGUN TO CHISEL AWAY AT RESULTS OF YUGOSLAV AND

ROMANIAN VISITS, AS IS THEIR WONT, IN POLITBURO STATEMENTS PUBLISHED DECEMBER 2 AND 3. AT SAME TIME, POLITBURO ASSESSMENT OF BOTH IS TEPID. IN DESCRIBING NEW WARSAW PACT INSTITUTIONS, ROMANIANS HERE SAY FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL MEET ANNUALLY, AND THAT INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED AT BUCHAREST ARE ALL THAT REMAINS OF FULL PANPOLY A LAT NATO PROPOSED BY SOVIETS IN DECEMBER 1975. END SUMMARY.

2. ZHIKOV'S "SHORT FRIENDLY VISIT" DECEMBER 2 TO PRESENT BREZHNEV A SECOND SET OF THE SAME MEDALS, WITH SUBSTANCE AND FORMAT SAME AS FOR HUSAK VISIT WHICH KICKED OFF SOVIET "EAST EUROPE" MONTH IN EARLY NOVEMBER, APPEARS TO MEAN MAINLY THAT THE MONTH IS NOT QUITE OVER. HONECKER AND KADAR WILL FIND IT HARD TO AVOID APPEARANCES BEFORE BREZHNEV'S BIRTHDAY DECEMBER 19, EVEN IF THEY TOO MUST PRESENT THE SAME ORNAMENTS A SECOND TIME (A POSSIBILITY RAISED IN KADAR CASE BY LOCAL MAGYAR HIRLAP CORRESPONDENT, REF D). THERE WAS SOME SUGGESTION IN ZHIKOV'S REMARKS ABOUT BREZHNEV'S LAST AND NEXT VISITS TO BULGARIA THAT THE BULGARS HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR MORE EXALTED TREATMENT, WITHOUT SUCCESS. IF SO, IT MIGHT SERVE TO EXPLAIN ZHIKOV'S STILL-MYSTERIOUS TRIP TO BELORUSSIA IN OCTOBER. OTHERWISE, WHILE PRINTED STATEMENTS WERE FULL OF THE SPECIAL "LOVE" WHICH CHARACTERIZES SOVIET-BULGARIAN RELATIONS, VISIT EVIDENTLY SERVED SAME PURPOSE AS HUSAK'S: GETTING IN ON THE ACTION.

3. MEANWHILE, SOVIETS HAVE BEGUN THE PROCESS OF CHISELLING ON THE RESULTS OF BREZHNEV'S BILATERAL SUMMITS IN BELGRADE AND BUCHAREST. DECEMBER 2 AND 3 CENTRAL PRESS PUBLISHES POLITBURO STATEMENTS "ON RESULTS" OF VISITS WHOSE SELECTIVE LISTING IN FACT SKEWS THEM IN FAVOR OF WHAT SOVIETS WANTED, RATHER THAN THE TOTALITY OF WHAT THEY ACTUALLY GOT. STATEMENTS ON YUGOSLAV VISIT, FOR INSTANCE, LISTS PRINCIPLES AS "EQUAL RIGHTS, INDEPENDENCE, NON-INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IDEALS OF MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN"; OMITTS REFERENCE TO DECLARATIONS OF 1955 AND 1956 (AS WELL AS 1971); AND MENTIONS
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"DISTINCTIVENESS (SVOYEOBRAZIYE) OF HISTORICAL PATHS" ONLY FURTHER ON. STATEMENT ON ROMANIAN VISIT STRESSES "LONG-TERM PROGRAM" OF IMPROVING RELATIONS, INTERACTION BOTH BILATERAL "AND IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION AND THE COUNCIL OF MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE", AND INTER-PARTY RELATIONS.

4. NEVERTHELESS, CHISELLING IS PERHAPS LESS REMARKABLE--

SINCE IT IS STANDARD SOVIET PRACTICE, CLEARLY EVIDENT AFTER HELSINKI AND BERLIN CONFERENCE THIS YEAR AND LAST-- THAN THE TEPIDNESS OF THE ASSESSMENTS. THE POLITBURO "EXPRESSES SATISFACTION" WITH THE RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN BELGRADE, AND "HIGHLY EVALUATES" THE RESULTS OF THOSE IN BUCHAREST. AS FAR BACK AS RECORDS STRETCH HERE (BACK TO WILSON'S VISIT IN FEBRUARY 1975), THESE ARE THE MOST RESTRAINED JUDGMENTS THE POLITBURO HAS OFFERED.

5. THERE APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN NO "RESULTS" STATEMENTS FOR HONECKER AND HUSAK VISITS IN FALL 1975, AND GISCARD HAD TO BE SATISFIED WITH A PRAVDA EDITORIAL (OCTOBER 26, 1975). THUS, COMPARISON MUST BE WITH WILSON, HELSINKI AND BERLIN. JOINT STATEMENT ON WILSON VISIT BY POLITBURO, PRESIDUM OF SUPREME SOVIET AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 22, 1975, "FULLY AND WHOLLY APPROVES THE ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION". IN JOINT STATEMENT BY SAME ORGANS ON HELSINKI, PUBLISHED AUGUST 7, 1975, "OUR PARTY (AND) THE SOVIET PEOPLE... EXPRESS FULL APPROVAL OF THE SPEECH OF L.I. BREZHNEV AT THE CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI." FINALLY, IN THE STATEMENT ON BERLIN PUBLISHED JULY 5, 1976, THE POLITBURO SPOKE FOR ITSELF, AND "FULLY AND WHOLLY APPROVED THE DELEGATION'S ACTIVITY."

6. UNLIKE OTHER WESTERN MISSIONS IN MOSCOW, WE PREFER NOT TO INFER EXTRAORDINARY INTERNAL DEBATE OVER SOVIET CONDUCT DURING THESE TWO VISITS PENDING FURTHER EVIDENCE. RELATIVE LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR RESULTS WHICH EMERGES FROM COMPARISON WITH PREVIOUS STATEMENTS DOES RECALL FACT THAT SUSLOV AND KOSYGIN WERE NOT SHOWN IN PRAVDA OR TV PICTURES OF LEADERSHIP ASSEMBLAGE WHICH GREETED BREZHNEV ON HIS RETURN FROM BELGRADE NOVEMBER 17, CONFIDENTIAL

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ALTHOUGH BOTH WERE LISTED AS BEING PRESENT. LOCAL EXPLANATION WAS THAT BOTH WERE UNDER THE WEATHER PHYSICALLY. THIS IS PLAUSIBLE FOR KOSYGIN AND SUSLOV DID NOT IN FACT LOOK HEALTHY DURING NOVEMBER 7 CELEBRATIONS. FOR TIME BEING, OUR INCLINATION WOULD BE TO IDENTIFY POSSIBILITY OF DIFFERENCES WITHOUT DRAWING CONCLUSIONS FROM SCANT EVIDENCE.

7. FINALLY, OTHER WESTERN MISSIONS REPORT THAT ROMANIAN EMBOFFS ARE VOLUNTEERING ESSENTIALLY SAME PRESENTATION ON RESULTS OF WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING DESCRIBED IN REF B. TWO NEW ELEMENTS SEEM TO HAVE APPEARED THUS FAR:

-- PERIODIC MEETINGS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL

TAKE PLACE ANNUALLY; AND

-- THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION AGREED UPON AT
BUCHAREST IS THE MEAGER REMNANT OF A SOVIET PROPOSAL,
MADE AT THE MOSCOW MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS
DECEMBER 15-16, 1975 (NOT BILLED AS A WP MEETING AT
ROMANIAN INSISTENCE AND BECAUSE OF THE MONGOLIAN PRESENCE),
TO ESTABLISH THE FULL RANGE OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS
AVAILABLE TO NATO, INCLUDING THE COUNCIL WITH ITS SEMI-
ANNUAL SESSIONS.

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